1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



level and still make a profit. He will not give credit to strangers, but must have done business with the man successfully or have some previous knowledge of him, his family, his agnates, or any one else who would be responsible for him if he were taken into court for a bad debt. Nevertheless, with each retailer taking about two to four dollars worth of nuts it takes only a few bad debts to whittle away his fifteen dollar profit into a loss, and he has had a number of these on which it took several later trips to recoup his losses. Ajimi, however, is very philosophical and entertains his friends for hours telling stories about his bad debts to point up the moral that a kola nut seller's life is not a happy one.

AJIMI'S UNCLE Finally let us look at Ajimi's uncle, his father's older brother who lives in the city and runs, because of his access to liquid capital, a relatively large trading organization along traditional lines.

Ajimi's uncle is a man of fifty-five years who has three wives and a concubine as well as a son and a younger brother's son living in his large compound in Maiduguri. He generally has several *tada njima* living in the compound, and in the near vicinity are those of his other married *tada njima* who are part of his organization.

His mode of operation is fairly simple; he gives out money to men like Ajimi to trade with, and then takes one half or more of the profits. Some of these men are connected by kinship to the uncle; others, indeed most of them, are not. Those who are not, start out in his compound as low status *tada njima;* they carry water, cut grass for the horses, run messages, and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing, and a little pocket money. If over a period of one to two years they prove respectable and trustworthy, Ajimi's uncle gives them some money and sends them out to trade, usually with someone more experienced at first, then on their own. The following list indicates both the range and number of his enterprises:

1. Two men buy millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri going to the Geidam market once every week or two.
2. One man sells cloth in Damasac. The cloth is supplied to him by Ajimi's uncle who buys it in larger quantities for sale in several places. This same man is given money to buy onions and ship them to Damasac where they are scarce and high priced.
3. One man buys fish at Abadan on Lake Chad and sells it in Maiduguri.
4. Another man buys natron in Bama (to the southeast of Bornu) for sale in Maiduguri.
5. Several (from one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Kano.
6. Several (one to three) buy cattle in Bornu and sell them in Makurdi.
7. One man purchases butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sells it in Maiduguri.
8. One (Ajimi) sells kola nuts in Magumeri and used to buy ground-nuts for sale in the capital.

The organization involves anywhere from eleven to sixteen men (the number varies over time) and their families, and probably involves a turnover of about $1200 to $1500 per month with a maximum profit margin of anywhere from thirty to forty percent on the investment. By Bornu standards Ajimi's uncle is a wealthy

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14



man and can well afford his car, chauffeur, and new cement-block compound with electricity and running water. Besides the scale of his operation which is quite large relative to Bornu enterprise in general, his way of organizing things is also typically Kanuri. Instead of an office building with secretaries, dictaphones, telephones, the uncle has built up a series of relationships among a set of dependents. These relationships are modelled on and grew out of exactly the same kinds of relations that exist in the Kanuri father-son relationship within a Kanuri household.

The remainder of Bornu trade is handled through a system of small and large companies. The large companies are European in origin, and until a few years ago each handled as much of the trade as possible. Today these large enterprises are increasingly African staffed, usually with southern Nigerians, and each tends to specialize in a few particular lines of the export-import trade. Besides these large enterprises there are small "canteens" (stores) run by Levantine traders and now increasingly by Kanuri traders themselves. These shops obtain stocks from the larger companies and sell to both consumers and wholesalers who hope to sell in smaller quantities.

In recent years the pattern of local economic life has changed but little. However, in the Bornu economy as a whole several new lines of development have started that are a far cry from the past. To the north of the capital city of Maiduguri in an area marked "industrial" on the provincial engineer's maps there is now a modern ground-nut oil mill and further to the east of this a large modern abattoir. In future years food processing and even manufacturing plants will appear in this area of the city. Secondly, the capital city itself is experiencing a building boom as the wealthy replace old mud houses with new ones made of concrete block. This plus the continual expansion of government buildings has produced a lucrative building trade. The local Bornu emirate government has in the last few years decided to spread its contracts out among many aspiring young building contractors, thus producing not one or two large companies but a growing number of small entrepreneurs who are gaining experience in business. This has also led to a local expansion of the concrete block industry which can easily be set up along the river where the sand is available and hand labor can be used in conjunction with cheap steel molds for making the concrete block.

Finally wealthy Kanuri men in the political system and in trade are beginning to look at the possibilities of investment as a form of wealth production. Some are buying property in the city for the rent income, or building on the land and then renting it; others or sometimes the same men are buying up adjoining small farms to the southeast of the city and turning them into mango and lemon orchards. One of these has even invested in a concrete block house at the back of his orchard that he intends to turn into a modern chicken farm with imported hens and roosters from the United States.

All of these developments seem to point away from household economy toward wages, urbanization, and the impersonality of western society in its workaday life. Will it happen? When will it happen? These are questions upon whose answer rests an entire way of life, for today the Bornu economy is essentially as described in this chapter yet these roots of change are growing points that are encouraged by the national and local leaders and by the western educational system. How much they will in fact transform the local life is a matter for future research.

of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought almost before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy. Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran. Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

437 452 441 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him. The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier. Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them. Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought to another company which is offering a higher price. He will then return his original cash advance to the first company with his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many different sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than having sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members were poor villagers a generation ago. [B56]

178 783 330 441 An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trading class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrimage, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacrifice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one, [E54]

178 788 though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys. 556 The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered 441 plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually [509] means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 178 Many of the political and economic changes brought about by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the greater orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri 175 565 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact, the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose membership exercised political power, controlled available sources of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of [554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a gen- 565 178 eral sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society today can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

567 178 [554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

178 565 555 It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously [666] were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. 178 556 565 441 Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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565 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times.

[121] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[GEIDAM]

632 621 [243] [285] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area. 632 463 The people of Koidi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

[GEIDAM]

The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138 ]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
491 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

463 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers;
441 some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of
441 trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are re-
192 flected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen
[452] are recognized: balesma (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dilelma--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dilelma arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dilelma who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142 ]

[GEIDAM]

seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

441 According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the taborma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the taborma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the taborma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[779] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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178

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Geidam. [illegible] result of their success in dealing with agents of [555] the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

• [441] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

5. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 115 565 463 551 124 | 1. Aristocracy: (6) | Yerima Mustapha- | Ajia of Geidam. |
| | | Lowan Ashek- | A Lowan of Geidam. |
| | | Lowan Kagu- | A former Lowan of Geidam. |
| | | Malam Jalo- | An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it. |
| | | Sidi Momon- | Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger. |
| [792] | 2. Koranic Malams: (3) | Liman Bashir- | Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers). |
| | | Liman Habib- | Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays). |
| | | Malam Baba Gonyi- | a Malam attached to Yerima's household. |
| [441] | 3. Canteen Traders: (6) | Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima- | a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company. |
| | | Malam Momon Gordo- | operator of a canteen dealing in cloth. |
| | | Alhaji Amadu Kolon- | operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts. |
| | | Alhaji Abacha Modu- | operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts. |
| | | Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali- | a dealer in kola nuts and cattle. |
| | | Alhaji Shetima- | operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts. |
| [634] | 4. NA Malams: (6) | Malam Ali Mandara- | Chief Scribe of Geidam. |
| | | Malam Bulama- | Treasurer of Geidam. |
| | | Malam Kasom- | Veterinary official. |
| | | Malam Maidugu- | Head-master of the primary school in Geidam. |
| | | Malam Ali Malami- | Dispenser. |
| | | Malam Bulama- | Agricultural expert. |

124 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members
*634 of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing
[121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding
*634 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a
*177 group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is knowl-
191 edge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa
*[365] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators
*[463] (5), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and
*177 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is
191 because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout
• 441 Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their attitudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in administration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas and consequently do not speak their language.

With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English. One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in European-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowledge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

radio-owning groups knowledge of the Hausa language is almost unanimous. In addition, all of the NA Malams speak English (see Table XVI) as well, so that they can most benefit from possession of a radio, and in fact the entire group owns radios.

Many individuals own photographs of themselves, but once again the three groups who owned wrist watches, bicycles and radios also tend to have photographs of themselves. In the case of the Canteen Operators an extraneous factor enters. Five of the six Canteen Operators have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the course of making the trip, have had passport photographs taken of themselves. Three groups, the Koranic Malams, the Kabuna, and the Low-status Individuals have never had photographs taken of them, and among the Talaka only one of the eight has had his photograph taken.

The last column in Table XVIII notes possession, or previous ownership of a horse. A horse is of course not an item of Western origin. It is included here to provide a comparison with some of the Western items previously discussed, particularly the bicycle. In only four groups are there to be found individuals who have never owned a horse. Five of the Talaka have never owned a horse, and in fact none of the eight Talaka owns a horse at present. Two of the NA Malams have never owned horses and it is clear that for members of this group the expense of buying and keeping a horse is not the primary factor as it is for most of the lower class groups. Two other NA Malams own horses which they do not keep in Geidam as they have little use for them. In comparison, five of the six NA Malams own bicycles.

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*177 128 Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use *177 493 is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen *565 Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, *[441] many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one- *[634] half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two *177 have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the 805 sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread *[565] throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two *[634] groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

*177 Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather me- 805 chanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the *829 hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

*177 805 *829 128 Dispenser--if someone is brought into the Dispensary with a stab wound, you write down the time he was brought in. This answer indicates that the respondent sees the use of a wrist watch solely in terms of its use in helping one to perform various bureaucratic tasks. Responses of this sort do not reveal a deeper understanding of the uses of a watch, though they do reveal an understanding of the relation between watches and aspects of Western culture and are therefore acculturated responses.

Complex ideas about the usefulness of telling the time have been noted in column D. In all there were eleven such responses, only one more than the responses in column A. Seven of these responses concern travel, and the advantages of being able to calculate rates of travel in order to determine when to leave a particular place and when to arrive at one's destination. The remaining four concern the use of synchronized time by two individuals to coordinate their activities. These responses reveal a deeper understanding of the advantages of possessing a watch. Four of the five Aristocrats offered responses of this sort, as did three of the eight Talaka; only one NA Malam answered in this fashion, and none of the Canteen Operators offered this reason.

*565 *634 [441]

*177 *829 *805 *565 *554 *463 *634 In comparing the eight groups with respect to the answers presented in Table XX, several points emerge. The Aristocracy offer a number of complex responses (D). The Koranic Malams are divided, but low in the number of responses referring to prayer time (B) when compared to the sample in general. The

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European-style beer, is forbidden to strict Moslems. Smoking cigarettes is not forbidden by religious edict, but is generally avoided except by adolescents and young men. In place of cigarettes, and serving much the same function, all Kanuri chew kola nuts. It can be seen from Table XXII that only eight individuals smoke cigarettes; two others smoked in the past but have given it up. Only three individuals admit to drinking beer, while three others did drink in the past. Those who smoke or drink can be found dispersed throughout six of the groups, with no significant clustering of cases appearing in any one group. In two groups, however, no individuals are to be found who either smoke or drink. These are the Koranic Malams and the Canteen Operators. The reasons for the strictness of the Koranic Malams is obvious. The Canteen Operators are somewhat different in their motivation. They would appear to adhere closely to traditional norms in these areas.

The last items involving Western material goods concern the wearing of European-made shoes and European-style trousers, presented in Table XXIII. Most of the individuals in the sample have worn European-made shoes at one time or another, and a number of others state that although they do not have them they would wear them if they had shoes. Only seven individuals categorically state that they would not wear European-made shoes, and these appear in four groups: Koranic Malams, Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Talaka. The general attitude against wearing European-style trousers, however, is much stronger.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 276]

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Those who object to the trousers make up 61 per cent of the sample, while those who objected to wearing shoes are only 16 per cent of the sample. A majority of the NA Malams state that they wear European-style trousers, but several of their responses indicate that wearing trousers is related to the nature of their work, and one, the Veterinary, states that he wears them though he dislikes them. One Aristocrat notes that he wore trousers in the past when he worked as a school-teacher but does not wear them now that he no longer does that sort of work. The Craftsmen, the Koranic Malams, and the Canteen Operators give a very high proportion of responses indicating refusal to wear trousers. The first two of these, the Craftsmen and the Koranic Malams, also included individuals who were unwilling to wear shoes, so that their responses to the two questions are rather consistent. However, the Canteen Operators show a complete reversal. All of them said that they either had or would wear European-made shoes, but not a single member of that group would wear European-style trousers. There is clearly a difference in the attitude of the sample towards wearing European-made shoes and European-style trousers. The majority have no objection to wearing shoes but do object to wearing trousers; the group which is most sensitive to the difference between the two items of clothing is the Canteen Operators. They choose with the majority with respect to both shoes and trousers, but in both cases they do so to a man, as if to indicate that they as a group exemplify the norms of correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

[GEIDAM]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them • 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seem to indcate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281 ]

[BEIDAM]

Table XXV

13. Religious Behavior: wearing charms (laya).

| | wears many | wears a few | wears only when traveling | has them at home | has none |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aristocracy | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - |
| Koranic Malams | 1 | 2 | - | - | - |
| Canteen Operators | - | 2 | 4 | - | - |
| NA Malams | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Kabuna | 3 | - | 3 | - | - |
| Craftsmen | 2 | 3 | 1 | - | - |
| Talaka | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1* |
| Low-status Individuals | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 1** |
| Totals: | 14 | 11 | 14 | 3 | 2 |

* has never had any

** doesn't like laya; drinks Koranic ink (alo).

441 78 others--by taking the pilgrimage (and being addressed as Alhaji henceforth), fasting, etc.

*197 75 *829 Still another area which was used as a measure of acculturation concerns treatment of disease and attitudes towards Western medicine. This area is closely linked to that of religious attitudes and behavior. There are two types of traditional Kanuri medical specialists. One is a secular specialist who deals with a restricted number of physical ailments: muscular pains, swellings, broken bones. [792] The other is the Koranic Malam who writes out verses of the Koran on a wooden board. Particular verses are used to treat specific diseases--the verse is chosen to fit the ailment. The ink is then washed off the board and drunk as a cure by the ailing person. This cure is called alo. Between these two medical specialists the Kanuri have a great many cures for a wide variety of diseases. When asked whether they would go to a European doctor for treatment (Table XXVI), most people replied that they would go. Only [792] seven individuals stated that they would not do so. Two of *[554] these are Koranic Malams, whose own roles in this area conflict directly with the Western medical practitioner; three are members of the Low-status group. [123] The direct effect of the presence of the anthropologist as an agent of Western culture who cannot avoid distributing aspirins and other pills is seen in the response of an elderly kabuna who stated that he would go for treatment because the anthropologist had come to Geidam, but would not otherwise have gone.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 293]

*177 against whom they have a complaint before either authority.
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*829 Those who would take their disputes directly to court (column 4) offer a variety of reasons for so doing, but the basis of their reasoning is that: the court can determine the truth (and frequently people are required to swear on the Koran in court); the court can enforce its decisions; and sholo requires both parties to accept and be bound by the decision of the
*177 arbitrator (see *e and *k) while the court does not. The 11
627 individuals whose answers fall in column 4 represent members
691 of 6 groups, but the highest proportion of respondents giving
*829 this answer is to be found among the Canteen Operators. Three
44 of this group said "court"; only two said "Ajia first and then court." Furthermore, their reasons for taking a dispute to court are not as convincing as those of other individuals who would also take their disputes to court. In *d are to be found the responses of the three Canteen Operators who would take their disputes directly to court. Neither the first nor the second answer are reasonable explanations. Bribery is possible in cases brought for sholo and equally possible in cases brought before an Alkali; it is no more proper for a Moslem to go to court than it is for him to bring his dispute for arbitration. The third answer is more convincing, though it says only a portion
[178] of what might be said. It seems clear that the Canteen Operators as a group would be more likely to take cases before the Alkali rather than before the Lowan or Ajia because of their own changing status in the social structure. Because they are

a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown, but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIX

20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

| | Unqualified yes | Qualifications | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aristocracy | 4 | 1 | would give to one man who asked; not to many. |
| Koranic Malams | 2*a | 1 | doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give. |
| Canteen Operators | 3 | 3 | 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give."<br>2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that."<br>3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give." |
| NA Malams | 5 | 1 | "If the man already had one, I would not give him one." |
| Kabuna | 6 | - | |
| Craftsmen | 6 | - | |
| Talaka | 6 | 2 | 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't."<br>2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give." |
| Low-status Individuals | 4 | - | |
| Totals: | 36 | 8 | |

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the
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735 group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature
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565 of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (_loku_), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

daughter to the Western school. Most (73 per cent) would send their sons to school, and the reasons for doing so (*c, *d) stress the usefulness of Western schooling and the benefits to be gained. 27 per cent said that they would not send their sons to school, a number adding "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *f). Four groups would overwhelmingly send their sons to school. These are: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, NA Malams, Kabuna. The remaining four are divided, although none of the Koranic Malams and only one Low-status individual would send a son to the Western school.

Fewer would send a daughter to school, though once again a majority (64 per cent) state that they would. The Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna would overwhelmingly send a daughter to school (though one individual in each of the latter groups has shifted from a "yes" for a son to a "no" for a daughter). The Koranic Malams remain adamant and would no sooner send a daughter than they would a son. Whereas a majority of Talaka would send a son to school, most would not send a daughter to school. The reasons given for sending a daughter to school appear in *h and *i. Of the 15 who answered "no", 8 added "unless forced to do so by the Lowan" (see *j). One Talaka noted (*d) that school was useful for a boy, but not for a girl because marriage difficulties arise for educated women. This issue will be discussed more fully in Table XXXVI which concerns marriage with an educated woman.

In following up the choice involved in educating one's son,

177 871 829 [565] [639] [554]

school, or work out a compromise; none would send a son solely to the Malam. The Koranic Malams also remained consistent with their previous answers. None would send a son to any one but a Koranic Malam. The Low-status group would tend to send their sons to the Koranic Malam, as they indicated in their answers to the previous question. The remaining three groups (Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka) are fairly evenly divided between the two choices. All three groups appear to have shifted somewhat from their answers in Table XXX, and lean more in the direction of the Koranic Malam than they indicated earlier. The Canteen Operators in particular appear to have shifted in the direction of a compromise solution, and three of the six individuals who answered in this way are to be found among the Canteen Operators.

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Another revealing area is that of the various occupations which individuals would like. Some are realistic aspirations, while others, particularly in the case of older people, border on fantasy. Eight categories have been distinguished in Table XXXII. Of these, the category of Trader (column 2) is the most popular by far. This is listed separately from "trading in the market-place" (column 3) because in the latter case individuals specifically indicated that they saw themselves as petty traders who operated in the market-place. The two categories might, however, be considered as one, since both are involved in the same general sort of activity--trade. Considered together, 42 per cent of the sample selected trade as the desired occupa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3071]

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* 177
* 554
* 829
* 565
* 463
* 634
• 441

Table XXXII

22. Desired Occupation: what sort of work would you most like to do?

| | 1. Ajia or Lowan | 2. Trader | 3. trade in market | 4. Koranic Malam | 5. NA work | 6. retainer (walidi) | 7. crafts-man | 8. other | 9. same as present | percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aristocracy | 1 | 2*a | - | 1*b | - | - | - | 1*c | 1 | 20 |
| Koranic Malams | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | 3 | 100 |
| Canteen operators | - | 6*d | - | - | - | - | - | - | 6 | 100 |
| NA Malams | 1*e | 1 | - | - | 3 | - | - | 1*f | 3 | 50 |
| Kabuna | 1*g | 1 | - | - | - | 3*h | - | 1*i | 3 | 50 |
| Craftsmen*J | - | 2 | 1*k | - | - | - | 2 | - | 2 | 40 |
| Talaka | - | 3*l | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 2*m | 3 | 38 |
| Low-status Individuals | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1*n | 2*o | - | 2 | 50 |
| Totals: | 3 | 15 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 23 | |

*a Aristocracy: "I would rather be a trader than an Ajia. I would trade in anything."

*b Aristocracy: Yerima Mustapha - "I would like to be a Malam of Arabic; but European knowledge is more useful today."

*c Aristocracy: "To be Yalema - the Wakil (assistant) of the Shehu, who goes about with Europeans, with District Officers."

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Table XXXII (continued)

*d Canteen Operators: "Do the work of a Talaka; farm during the rainy season, and sell goods."

3 of the canteen operators specifically mentioned farming during the rainy season in addition to trading.

*e NA Malam: "Ajia - the work of my father."

*f NA Malam: "Retire on a salary and live in a house in Maiduguri."

*g Kabuna: "Be a Lowan - the work of my grand-fathers, and my ancestors who were all from Birni Ngazargamo (capital of the empire of Bornu)."

*h Kabuna: "Be a retainer (walidi); do the Ajia's work."

"I'm old now. Whatever the Mai (king) tells me to do, or sends me, I will do, and earn a little money each month."

*i Kabuna: "Be a scribe, like Malam Ali Mandara (Chief Scribe of Geidam). The work of a kabuna in the bush is hard. It is better to sit in town and be the Wakil (assistant) in charge of tax collection."

*j Craftsman: one leather-worker refused to answer this question, and is not included in this table.

*k Craftsman: "I would buy and sell in the market. I don't like any other work; the market is in my blood."

*l Talaka: "I would be a seller of perfume (his present trade). First you start with a small table in the market, then you become a big trader with a canteen."

"If I had money I would buy cloth from the canteen, make clothes, and sell them at a profit. I would then buy millet for myself and more cloth."

*m Talaka: "Be like Musa Jakona (a clerk in the Ajia's office in charge of tax tallying) - make money and do nothing."

[GEIDAM]

*554 *829 • 441 *777 178 441 *463 556 *554

tion. This is the most common response for four of the eight groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, Craftsmen, and Talaka. Except for the case of "NA work" (column 5), none of the categories can be rated as being more acculturated choices or less acculturated choices. All are traditional categories within Kanuri society. The area of trade, however, though not a new innovation brought about by contact with the West, has undergone the most significant changes as a result of Western influences. It has previously been noted that the trading group has grown wealthy and powerful in recent years as a result of outside influences. The reasons given by several Talaka who chose trade (*k) indicate that it is this aspect of trade which they find most appealing. Trade offers people an opportunity to become wealthy and important and to rise in significance in the social structure. In this sense, the choice of "trader" as one's desired occupation represents an acculturated response.

*554 *829

Considering each of the eight groups in turn, it is interesting that even two of the aristocracy succumb to the lure of trade. One Aristocrat (*a) states that he would rather be a trader than an Ajia. Others in the group give traditionally oriented responses, particularly *c who has selected a time-honored [792] ambition (though it, too, has a very modern twist to it). The Koranic Malams would all like to be Koranic Malams, though few others selected this as their desired occupation (see Table [441] XXXIII). The Canteen Operators all would like to be in no other occupation than trade. It is interesting that 3 of the 6 spe-

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cifically mention farming in addition to trade (*d) as if to accentuate their Talaka origins and their tie to the soil as the ultimate provider of sustenance. Three of the NA Malams prefer to do NA work, and one (*e) specifically states that he would like to be an Ajia (see Table XXXIII). Three Kabuna indicate a preference for the work of retainer, while one would like to be a Lowan (*g)--see Table XXXIII. Three Craftsmen chose the general category of trade, while two preferred to be craftsmen. Four Talaka chose trade, while the remaining four chose a variety of occupations (*m). The Low-status individuals divide into several categories, though two prefer to remain in the same low-status crafts which they now perform.

Column 9 lists the number of individuals in each group who chose as their desired occupation the same occupation in which they are presently engaged. This number is then expressed as the percentage of the total group. The groups may then be ranked to indicate the satisfaction of each group with its present occupation. They are ranked in the following order:

Koranic Malams - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

Canteen Operators - 100 per cent satisfied with their present occupation.

NA Malams - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Kabuna - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Low-status Individuals - 50 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Craftsmen - 40 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Talaka - 38 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

Aristocracy - 20 per cent satisfied with their present occupations.

[GEIDAM]

*554 *829 *463 Five of the eight groups range very closely (from 38 to 50 per cent) and indicate neither very great satisfaction with their present work, nor great disapproval. The Low-status individuals are included among them. They apparently do not find their low status a source of discontent. The Koranic Malams all seem very secure in their occupations, as do the Canteen Traders who all seem to find their work rewarding. It is striking to note that the Aristocracy are the most dissatisfied group in the sample. A number of possible reasons can be advanced to explain this (there are many hidden strains in their roles; they are in a better position to fantasy than the others, etc.), though none really seems to provide an adequate explanation.

*177 *829 *463 *554 The next table (Table XXXIII) deals with the same general area of desired occupations, but treats the problem differently. Instead of asking the open-ended question "What sort of work would you most like to do?", this question required the members of the sample to select that occupation which they found most appealing to them from among four which were offered. The four choices included two acculturated occupations (truck driver and doctor or dispenser), and two traditional Kanuri occupations (Lowan and Koranic Malam). As indicated by the table, only five individuals selected the acculturated occupations; the overwhelming choice of the sample was for Koranic Malam (70 per cent). This contrasts sharply with the choices made in Table XXXII, where only 4 (9 per cent) chose Koranic Malam. Unfortunately,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311 ]

*177 *829 *463 *554 as "trader" was not offered as a choice in this question, it is impossible to ascertain whether Koranic Malam is the second best choice to trader, or whether, when reminded that Koranic Malam is a possible choice, people feel obliged to choose it.

[792] [441] *[565] Considering each of the four occupations individually, four of the groups were unanimous in choosing Koranic Malam as the desired occupation. These are: the Koranic Malams, Canteen Operators, Talaka, and Low-status Individuals. In the group of Craftsmen the choice of Koranic Malam is almost unanimous, but for one individual who chose truck driver. The category of truck driver is the least popular and was selected by only two people; one of these (*a) indicated that he chose it because it was the best of four unattractive choices. Three groups remain who did not overwhelmingly choose Koranic Malam.

*[565] These are: Aristocracy, NA Malams and Kabuna. The Aristocracy include two of the three individuals who selected doctor (*b); the others in the Aristocracy are divided among the remaining

*177 *829 *463 *554 *634 choices. The category of Lowan is the final occupation to be discussed and was selected as the preference of 8 individuals. Seven of these 8 individuals are found in two groups: the NA Malams and the Kabuna. The eighth is an Aristocrat who is presently a Lowan. Three of the Kabuna would like to be Lowans (compare with Table XXXII where only one Kabuna selected Lowan). This desire is expectable in a group whose activities are entirely within the political structure and whose rewards would probably come through promotion to higher position within the

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*177 *463 *829 *554 The aspirations of those who would like their sons to hold NA or European jobs become apparent as one looks at their verbatim responses (*a, *d, *e, *f, *k). They would like their sons to be bank clerks, accountants, doctors and Senior Service government employees, working in the large cities. Two fathers specifically add that they want their sons to become "black Europeans" (*a, *f), an ambivalent comment since it implies that their sons will have the advantages of a European and in the process will become estranged from their Kanuri fathers. Those who wish that their sons might become Koranic Malams (*b, *g, *j, *l) see the advantages in terms of the respect which they would gain in becoming a Liman, an Alkali, or a Gonyi--"Many people will come to his house" (*d). The advantages of success in trade have already been discussed (*c).

*[565] Taking each group in turn, the Aristocracy all wish their sons to do NA or European work, though a glance at column 8 indicates that none wishes his son to do precisely the same type of work as his father is presently engaged in. This once again would appear to indicate the same dissatisfaction noted [792] for the Aristocracy in Table XXXII. The Koranic Malams continue to demonstrate the same consistent behavior which they have shown all along. All wish their sons to become Koranic Malams [941] (*b), like their fathers. The Canteen Traders would also like their sons to engage in trade; 5 of the group chose trade for their sons and they make up the bulk of those who gave this *[634] response. The NA Malams follow the same pattern; 5 of the 6

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177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their [634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

her husband (the respondent) and this would subvert his authority within the family. This is expressed as a fear that through her superior knowledge she would be able to commit adultery, while her ignorant husband would be powerless to stop her. The groups hardly differ among themselves at all in their answers to this question, except that the Canteen Operators are the sole group which unanimously indicated a willingness to marry an educated woman.

A related question asks if a wife would be permitted to work as a school-teacher or a dispenser (Table XXXVII). The question implies, of course, that one is married to an educated woman, Approximately the same number of people responded that they would permit their wives to work (70 per cent) as had said that they would marry an educated woman (Table XXXVI). Several mentioned the wife's salary as an advantage in having a working wife (*f, *g); one brought up the issue of adultery again (*d) implying that an educated woman who worked would be less under her husband's control. Eleven individuals (25 per cent) said that they would refuse to allow their wives to go out and work. Some stated simply that they would not allow it (*e), while others claimed that she would not be as good a wife if she went to work (*c). Two others noted that they would allow their wife to work under certain circumstances and would forbid it under other circumstances (*a, *b).

In discussing this matter, the idea of keeping one's wife secluded (kule) must be taken into account. Though only a rel-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 326]

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Though only a relatively small part of Kanuri society keeps its wives secluded, there is a strong tendency for upper class individuals to do so. It can be seen from column b (Table IX) that almost all individuals in the 4 upper groups do keep their wives secluded, while very few in the 4 lower groups do so. It might be predicted that members of a group which had but recently risen into the upper strata of Kanuri social structure would be especially strict in keeping their wives secluded, thereby indicating to all the manner in which they fulfilled the expectations of someone of high status. In examining the responses of each of the groups to the question of allowing one's wife to work, several groups appear particularly permissive. Not one individual in either the Talaka group or the Low-status group would object to his wife working. This is undoubtedly because husbands in these groups do not keep as tight control over their wives as do husbands who keep their wives secluded. Among the four groups who do keep their wives secluded, only one has serious objection to allowing their wives to work, and that is the group of Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators stand out in comparison to the other groups in this respect. Most of the Aristocracy and the NA Malams would allow their wives to work, even though they keep their present wives secluded. The Canteen Operators differ radically from the other groups in their response to this question, and furthermore their attitude seems strikingly inconsistent with that expressed in the previous question (Table XXXVI). There it was noted that they were the only group who were unanimously in favor of marry-

*177 593 #829 • 441 #554 ing an educated woman, whereas they are almost equally unanimous in not being willing to allow her to work. The explanation for this inconsistency is to be sought in the poor definition of their roles. It has been noted that they are a rising group, emerging as a wealthy and powerful segment of community social structure. They actively seek means to increase their prestige, and one way of doing this would be through marriage with an educated woman (particularly since many well educated young women come from aristocratic families). Still another way of increasing their prestige is to be strict about religious observance, and keeping wives secluded falls into this category of behavior. They therefore indicate that they would all be willing to marry an educated woman, but would not permit her to work as a school-teacher. What appears as an inconsistency in their behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of their roles in the social structure. In fact, it becomes possible to characterize the roles of this particular group in terms of the inconsistencies which they exhibit.

B. Age as a Variable in Acculturation.

128 #177 The introductory paragraphs to the present chapter presented the mean age of the sample of individuals on which the study is based, and compared the means of the ages of the eight groups in the sample.[1] Two of the groups were found to vary somewhat from the sample as a whole, and the effect of relative age was considered briefly in that context. We may now return

[1] [For the age distribution of the sample, see category 116, page 250. - Analyst]

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*177 concerned. Item 5 is not to be taken as a measure of acculturation; the Koranic Malams naturally write in Arabic script.

In certain areas, however, they respond in acculturated fashion. They are willing to marry a non-Kanuri and distinctly more willing to marry each of the four tribes noted in items 38-41. When the condition that the woman be a Moslem is added, the Koranic Malams show themselves to be a tolerant group. This is probably because their primary allegiance is to Islam rather than to Kanuri culture. Thus as long as behavior does not conflict with Islamic behavioral expectations, they would have no real objection, and in the case of marriage, state that they would be willing to marry a wide range of women so long as they were Moslem. Similarly, Allah is their guide in the case of settlement of disputes, so that they appear acculturated in Item 30, and in Item 31 the conditions placed on charity are that the individual would behave as Allah told him to. I have no explanation, frankly, for their response to Item 14. On the whole, the relative consistency of the answers of the Koranic Malams would indicate that they are a stable group.

*177 441 3. Canteen Operators. The Canteen Operators epitomize an unstable group. Omitting the three items not dealing with acculturation measures, 18 of their responses are on the acculturated side, 20 are on the unacculturated side, and 2 are precisely at the mid-point. They are consistent in only two behavioral areas: they are acculturated in the possession of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14



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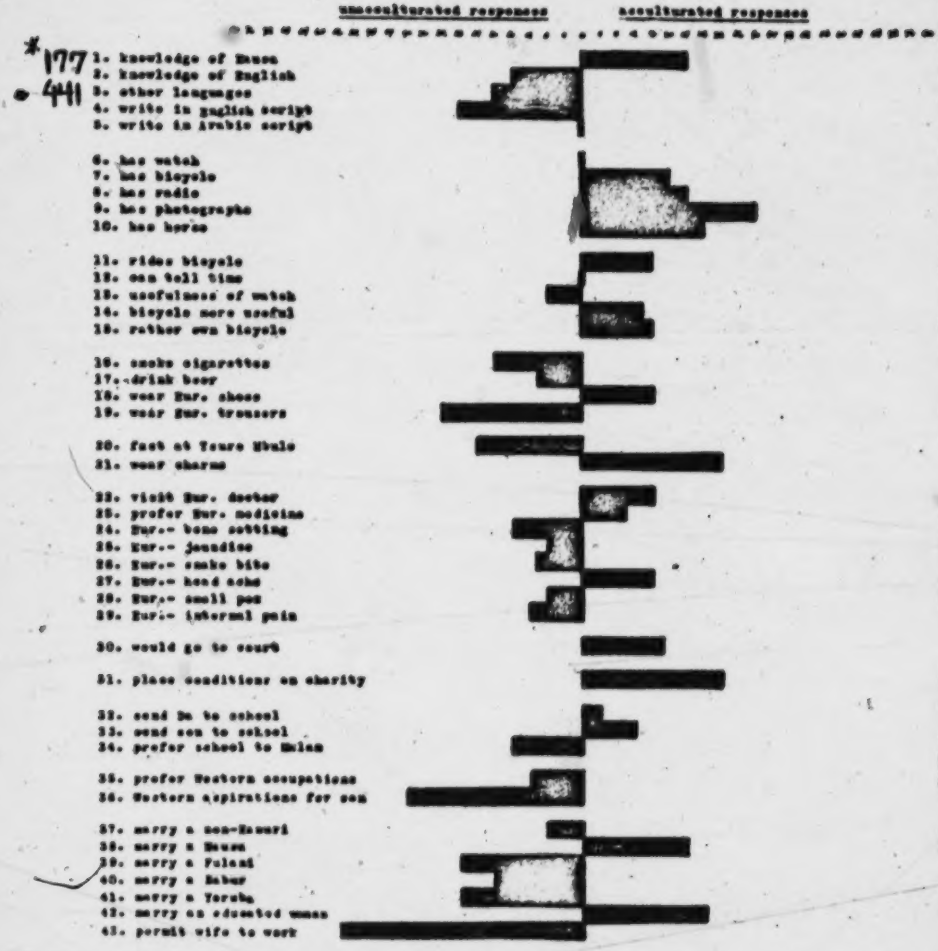
Table XLII

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CANTEEN OPERATORS

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*177 • 441 Western material goods (Items 6-9) and unacculturated in their choice of occupations and in the aspirations for their sons (Items 35, 36). They speak Hausa, but not other languages, and they cannot write in English script. They possess material goods, and their responses concerning the bicycle (Items 11, 14, 15) are acculturated, but they are at the mid-point when it comes to telling time. Furthermore, their statements concerning the usefulness of a wrist watch are in the unacculturated direction. They would wear shoes (acculturated) but would not wear trousers (unacculturated). They fast, but do not wear charms. They would visit the doctor and prefer European medicine to drinking the ink of the Koran, yet respond that Kanuri treatment is better for 5 of the 6 diseases. They would send their son to school, yet prefer the Koranic Malam to the school. They would marry a Hausa woman, but not any of the other three tribes. Lastly, they would marry an educated woman, but are extremely conservative and would not let her work.

All of their responses are intelligible when one looks at their roles. Yet the pattern of their responses is indicative of an unstable group, more so than any of the other seven groups.

*177 634 4. NA Malams. The NA Malams come closest to being a group all of whose responses fall in the acculturated category. Their responses are heavily in the acculturated direction in the areas of language and writing and in the area of possession

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 348]

*177 463 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 441 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

*177 • 441 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geidam--in particular bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geidam, both members of [493] the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geidam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

177 accepting attitude towards Western material goods.
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Having accepted these new behavioral alternatives and having achieved great success in their new activities, the status of the group of canteen operators began to change. Their roles were new and strange to them; they were unclear of their obligations in the changing situation. Though they now had important statuses in the community, there was no title to accompany these statuses. A pious Moslem who becomes wealthy is able to fulfill his obligation to carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca, and this the Canteen Operators did at the first opportunity. Five of the six members of that group in the present study became Alhajis, a title by which the pilgrim is henceforth addressed. This is a means to acquire prestige in the community, but it also serves another purpose --it demonstrates that the individual concerned is a pillar of faith in the community and may be expected to uphold traditional ways.

177 441 156 The "self" which the Canteen Operators seek to communicate to others is of an individual who is conservative, an upholder of tradition. This is in contrast to their acceptance of new sorts of behavior and to the recent changes to which they have been party within the social structure. Indeed, it is because of these things that the Canteen Operators present such a conservative "self" and in so doing they exhibit behavior which is predicted in hypothesis 3. In the case of the Canteen Operators the sanctions involved would be the rejection

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*177 • 441 156 [681] by others of the right of the Canteen Operators to occupy important positions in the community. This would be brought about by a denial of power and prestige on the part of other community members. In order to prevent this from happening, the Canteen Operators assert their identity as part of the Kanuri community by stressing traditional Kanuri values. It is their considerable degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas, taken with their extreme conservatism, frequently in the same area of behavior, which leads to the characterization of the group as an unstable group.

Their inconsistencies, as exhibited in Table XLII, occur in almost every area of behavior. They would wear European shoes, but decidedly would not wear European trousers, thus indicating their extreme sensitivity to the difference between these two items of clothing. They fast at Tsuro Mbulo, though they rarely wear charms. They would visit a European doctor and prefer European medicine, though they prefer the Kanuri method of treatment for five of the six diseases. They would take their disputes to court and tend to place conditions on the giving of charitable gifts, and both of these have been discussed in terms of the ambiguity of expectations in their roles. They would send their son to school though they state a preference for the Koranic Malam over the Western school. They would marry a Hausa woman, though not a woman of any of the other tribes. Their most pronounced inconsistency is in the final two items of their profile. They are strongly in favor

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of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consistent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have become acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

2: Rosman

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[For responses of Koranic malams, canteen operators, NA malams and kabunas to questionnaires on acculturation, see charts in category 116, pp. 249-327.]

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
175 436 wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

175 a 441 452 The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition among the European traders involved a strong competition in the financing of tradeas well as the more usual aspects of commerce, like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the number of traders in the native population.

175 439 The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small ones. (1)

175 177 648 The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports running from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.T. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press) 1954, pp. 150-156.

874 882 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguiral then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's"house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resem-
[578] blance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them.(1) The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
[452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for his horse, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally, he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little spending money regularly during that first year. At special events, like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings) by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice, which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.(1) Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.(2)

[441]

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

793 228; arziyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
[565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
[693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
[565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
• [441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from reasons of economic necessity (kwanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occupations are as follows:(1)

826 (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams;
he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri
equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only
a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mal-lams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

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[558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

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554 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
577 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178
463 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
[167] of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

565 shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

The political office holder from the rank of Lawan (Village Area Head) up the hierarchy are considered "different" in contrast to the tala. Their judgements about occupations, birth status, wealth, etc., move through a different range than those of the lower class. Thus a good house would mean a well-built mud dwelling to a tala, while a kintuoma (an aristocrat, a man of power) would think of a good house as a burnt brick building with electricity. The connection of the kintuoma with the political hierarchy and the utilization of their power, authority and generally higher income make them seem far apart, as a group, from the tala. They dress always in robes, never work shirts, always go abroad from their homes on horseback or in a vehicle, with some retainers, and consider themselves superior to the tala who they administer.

Traditionally these two large segments, the rulers and the commoners they exert power over, formed the two large class segments of Bornu society. Informants relate how in the old days tala wore only dark indigo dyed blue clothes, while the ruling classes wore light coloured gowns. Today this distinction is much less adhered to, especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, out in the rural District Courts, it is still common to see lower class plaintiff, accused, and the witnesses all wearing navy blue gowns while the court officials appear in [441] light blue, green, white and other pale colours. Wealthy traders in the city are allied with the ruling class often serving as their financial backers and sometimes, it is rumoured, buying themselves political jobs. There is no definite sense of separateness on the part of the small wealthy non-ruling group in the city from the social organization as a whole. Their loyalty and respect to the traditional office holders

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264 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlèn (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlèn, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44
(441) of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market econ-
omy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is much less common for towns and cities which have major political functions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thurs-
day, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri market on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar[1] and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

• 441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maiduguri.
439

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
57/ involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njina relationship with its bbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Borno politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine traders, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts [452] are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

578 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bbrsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sikelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries,
perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales
from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to
his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina
receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and
as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which
are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had
only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for
another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last
year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re -
ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or
£80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He
also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not
estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual per-
iod of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam
Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and
sign his name.

441 571 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 436 441 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of Malam Mina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Mina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/import economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

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175 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the
648 British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

177 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The
178 ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been
[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the
[494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

177 The introduction of the few European trading houses has
• 441 served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

177 duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash
441 cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

178 However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the
648 same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now
642 permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political
[182] organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

602 In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behav-
571 iour associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

433 open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

[425] 3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 27% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

178 433 434 Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

433 Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

441 To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if these are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organisation model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organisation as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organisation, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organisational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organisation is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

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Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

178 necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism.
441 Ultimately the unrecognised low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status.(1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

441 434 It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested(2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entrepreneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

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(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.
(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 452 the extended household organization of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organizations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

178 571 [177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

183 571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.